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A COLLATION
OF
THE ATHOS CODEX
OF
THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

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Lambros, Spyridon P

A COLLATION
OF
THE ATHOS CODEX
OF
THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS



TOGETHER WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

SPYR.^{don} P. LAMBROS PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

WITH A PREFACE AND APPENDICES

BY

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON M.A.

FELLOW AND DEAN OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

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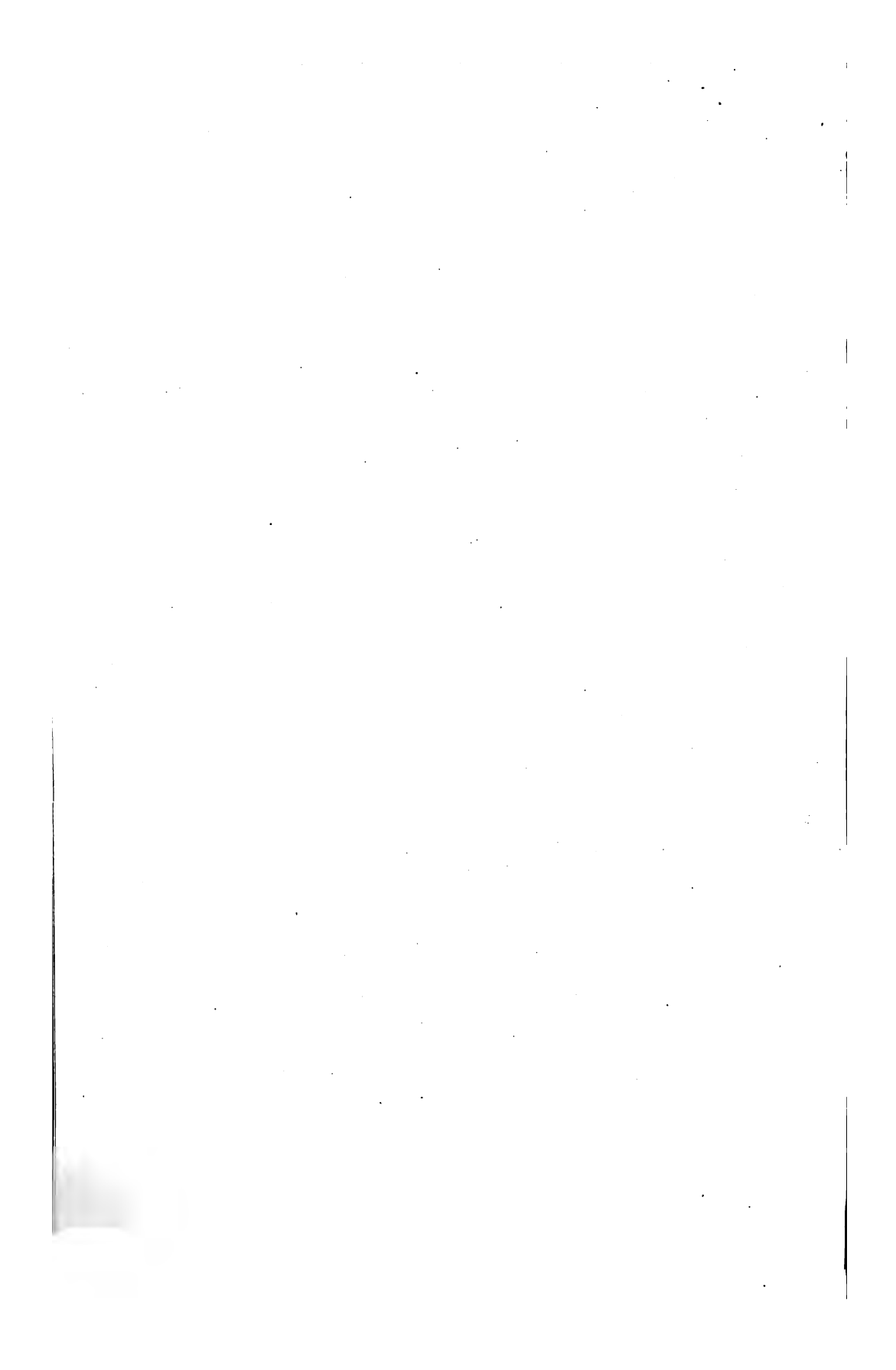
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PREFACE.

UNTIL about thirty years ago the Shepherd of Hermas was known to us only in a Latin Version. In 1857 Dressel edited a second Latin Version from a Palatine manuscript of the fourteenth century preserved in the Vatican. In 1860 an Ethiopic Version was also published. This had been discovered by Antoine d'Abbadie some thirteen years previously: but he was not aware of its importance until he had shewn it to Dillmann, with whose assistance he then published it together with a literal Latin translation¹.

Meanwhile an extraordinary controversy was raging in Leipsic. In 1855 Constantine Simonides had sold to the Library of the University what he declared was the original Greek text of the whole of the Shepherd, with the exception of a small missing portion at the close. This he produced in a twofold form, consisting of (1) three leaves of a paper MS. from Mount Athos, very closely written in a hand of the fourteenth century, and (2) a copy of six other leaves of the same MS. which he had not been able to bring away with him. The text thus obtained was immediately published by Anger and Dindorf² who edited it with scrupulous exactness from the three original leaves and the *apographon* of Simonides. They promised to add a volume of critical materials: but this 'pars

¹ Hermae Pastor. Aethiopice primum edidit et aethiopica latine vertit Antonius d'Abbadie. Lipsiae, 1860. It came out as no. 1 of the second series of the *Abhandlungen der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. It has a strange argument appended at the close to prove that Hermas was S. Paul himself; in proof of which is quoted the text: "They called *Silas* Zeus and Paul *Hermes*".

² Hermae Pastor. Graece primum ediderunt et interpretationem veterem Latinam ex codicibus emendatam addiderunt Rudolphus Anger et Gulielmus Dindorf. Pars prior quae textum Graecum continet. Lipsiae, 1856.

secunda' was not destined to appear. For just at that moment Simonides was accused of having forged the 'Uranius'. He was arrested and sent to Berlin: and among his papers was found another copy of the same six leaves of the *Hermas* MS. This upon examination was shewn to contain a very different text from that of the *apographon* which he had sold to the Leipsic Library: it had moreover been largely corrected and modified both in pencil and in ink by Simonides himself. When the two *apographa* were compared, it was found that the text of the one which Anger had already edited embodied for the most part the corrections of the other.

At this point Tischendorf took up the matter, and edited for Dressel the three genuine leaves, together with the more recently discovered *apographon*, which alone he believed to be of any value at all. At the same time he propounded two theories: first, that the Greek text of the *Athos* MS. was not really the original Greek of the Shepherd, but had been constructed in the middle ages out of some Latin Version, which was however neither the 'Old Latin' nor the 'Palatine': secondly, that the *apographon*, which Anger and Dindorf had used for their edition, was written by Simonides not on Mount Athos at all, but in Leipsic; whereas the other copy was really made on Mount Athos and afterwards corrected and modified by the aid of the Old Latin Version and the Greek quotations in the Fathers. The fact that Simonides had also produced certain pages of Palimpsest of the Shepherd seemed to reveal the motive of this strange patchwork. Tischendorf held that Simonides had kept back his *Athos* copy so as to have a different text to use in forging his Palimpsest.

The first of these theories was challenged at the time, and was finally disposed of by Tischendorf's own discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus*. From this great Bible he published in 1863 a fragment of the Shepherd, which comprised roughly speaking the first quarter of the book, and presented a text in substantial agreement with that of the *Athos* MS. The second theory met with a more favourable reception. Anger and Dindorf at once admitted that they had been deceived, and that their edition was absolutely worthless. In 1866 Hilgenfeld re-edited

the Greek text from the Sinaitic Codex and the Leipsic materials. In his *apparatus* he distinguishes to some extent between the two *apographa*, though he relies mainly on the one which Tischendorf had edited. In 1877 appeared the edition of Gebhardt and Harnack, which gives the Palatine Version in full, and provides an *apparatus criticus* dealing with the Greek texts and the Aethiopic and Old Latin Versions. It is noteworthy that Harnack (note on p. vii of his Prolegomena) absolutely scorns the *apographon* which Simonides sold to the Leipsic Library, and collates only the other which was subsequently extracted from him by the police.

Hilgenfeld however in his latest edition (1887) has taken a very different course. The occasion of this new edition is the recent publication by Draeseke of what claims to be the missing Greek conclusion of the Shepherd. This document was printed by Simonides in 1859 together with some other miscellaneous tracts: but by that time he had so completely lost his character, that no one would even look at anything he produced. Draeseke has now rediscovered it, and he asserts its genuineness. Hilgenfeld follows him, and accordingly publishes for the first time a complete Greek text¹. Harnack on the contrary denounces it as an obvious fraud².

Hilgenfeld, then, in his new edition states his belief that Simonides really made both his *apographa* on Mt. Athos, as he said; but that he probably made them from different MSS., the readings of which he somewhat capriciously modified partly by collation and partly by conjecture. This agrees substantially with the account of the matter given by Simonides himself, who always spoke with the greatest contempt of the text which he had kept concealed, as being the recent work of one Abraham the Telian, who had depraved it by the introduction of modern Greek forms.

This latest edition of Hilgenfeld's is a very laborious but a most unfortunate piece of work. In the first place, Harnack is

¹ Hermae Pastor. Graece integrum ambitu primum edidit Adolfus Hilgenfeld. Lipsiae, 1887.

² Ueber eine in Deutschland bisher unbekannte Fälschung des Simonides. Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1887, no. 7.

undoubtedly right in saying that the supposed Greek ending is nothing but a loose retranslation from the Latin: and, with regard to the origin and the respective merits of the two *apographa*, the decision of Tischendorf, which Harnack has always accepted, is now completely confirmed; on the one hand by the evidence presented by Hilgenfeld himself who has collated both the *apographa* again for his new edition; and on the other hand by the fresh light which has been thrown upon the subject by the discovery of which I must go on to speak.

In the Easter Vacation of last year, as I was going to Patmos to collate a MS. of Origen's Philocalia, I made the acquaintance in Athens of Dr Spyr. P. Lambros, who is well known for his labours in cataloguing the MSS. of the numerous monasteries of Mount Athos. He was good enough to give me the proof-sheets of the earlier portion of his Catalogue, and he called my attention especially to his description of a Codex containing portions of the Shepherd of Hermas, which he was at first disposed to regard as spurious, but on which he promised to give me further information. He has since placed in my hands, for translation into English, and for publication, a tract which he has written in German, dealing briefly with the previous history of the Greek text of the Hermas, and containing a full collation of the remaining fragments of the MS. from which Simonides extracted the three leaves which are now at Leipsic. Of the last leaf of all Dr Lambros could find no traces whatever. There can be little doubt that it was torn away before Simonides ever saw the Codex.

In order to secure the greatest possible accuracy in the Collation Dr Lambros sent over at my request the transcript of the MS. made for him by Dr Georgandas, who went to Mount Athos for the purpose. I have gone carefully through it in order to verify the proof-sheets, and Dr Lambros has since seen the proof-sheets himself, and has revised them again by a fresh comparison with the transcript. It will be observed that nearly half the corrections are marked with the word (sic). In all these cases the Editors had already been able by the aid of the Sinaitic Codex or the Versions to restore the true text, which

had been obscured by the careless copying of Simonides. Here then the evidence now offered is confirmatory of their work. The passages marked with dotted lines are illegible in the Codex: but most of them occur in the earlier part of the work, where we are fortunate in having the Sinaitic MS. to guide us. There are several places where Simonides was led by *homoeoteleuton* or other causes to omit whole sentences. These have been conjecturally restored by the Editors by the help of the Versions: but now for the first time we have them in the original Greek text. Such passages are the following: Gebh. and Harn. p. 106, ll. 20—22; p. 190, ll. 19—21; p. 198, ll. 17, 18; p. 218, ll. 9, 10.

The very complete *apparatus* of Hilgenfeld's latest edition enables us to see at a glance that the text of the Athos MS., as now restored to us, corresponds with *apogr. I*, Hilgenfeld's L², which Tischendorf had edited; and not with *apogr. II*, Hilgenfeld's L³, which Anger and Dindorf had edited. It is true that in some instances it does agree with *apogr. II* as against *apogr. I*; but, as far as I have observed, this is only the case where *apogr. I* was quite obviously wrong, and the correction could at once be made either by conjecture or by the aid of the Old Latin Version:

The question of the origin of *apogr. II* may now be regarded as finally settled. For its discussion it is sufficient here to refer to Tischendorf's Essay, 'De Herma Graeco Lipsiensi', in the Prolegomena to Dressel's *Patres Apostolici* (1857). But a comparison of the materials recently published by Hilgenfeld with the *editio vulgata* of the Old Latin Version, as it may be seen in Dressel, will satisfy most people as to the manner in which Simonides must have set about its production: and some light will be incidentally thrown on his probable motive in thus improving on his Athos copy, when we consider the forged Greek ending (see Appendix A) and its relation to the Old Latin Version. It will then appear that his aim was to present his readers with a pleasant, easy, flowing style of Greek, which he did not scruple to purchase at the cost of accuracy. In preparing *apogr. II*, just as in forging the Greek conclusion, he used the Old Latin Version with considerable freedom, and

retranslated from it in a loose paraphrase, in order to fill up gaps and to avoid harsh constructions.

I have added two Appendices. The first of these illustrates, by a comparison with the Versions and a passage of Antiochus, the method adopted by Simonides in forging his Greek ending of the *Hermas*. In the second I have carried out somewhat further some suggestions recently made by Mr Rendel Harris with regard to the Scene of the Vision in the Ninth Similitude, though I have not been able to follow him in the conclusions which he is inclined to draw from the curious coincidences which he has undoubtedly discovered.

I desire to record on behalf both of Dr Lambros and myself our obligation to the Syndics of the University Press for their readiness in undertaking the publication of this book.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE,
February, 1888.

THE ATHOS CODEX OF
THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

BY

DR SPYR. P. LAMBROS.

THE ATHOS CODEX OF THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

I.

DURING the years 1855 and 1856 considerable excitement was caused in the literary world by the appearance in Leipsic of the Greek Constantine Simonides, who offered to scholars certain presumably valuable manuscripts of authors hitherto unedited, such as the much discussed Uranius whom Stephanus of Byzantium frequently quotes as an Arabian author. Among the manuscripts which awakened the liveliest interest was a Codex containing the Shepherd of Hermas. This MS. was written on paper, and was composed of two portions. One of these consisted of three original leaves obtained from a library on Mount Athos; the other of 31 pages in the handwriting of Simonides himself, copied as he said from that portion of the Codex which he had not been able to bring away. The Leipsic University Library lost no time in making this new treasure its own. It was indeed of real worth, since the Shepherd of Hermas, the work of a Christian writer of the second century, could only be read in a Latin version, the Greek original having been up to this date wholly unknown. In a little while Rudolf Anger published, with the assistance of William Dindorf, the first Greek edition of the Shepherd. It was scarcely printed when the bad faith of Simonides in reference to the Shepherd of Hermas among other matters was brought to light, mainly by the exertions of Alexander Lycurgus, the late Bishop of Syros and Tenos, who was at that time studying Theology at Leipsic¹.

¹ Enthüllungen über den Simonides-Dindorf'schen Uranios von Alexander Lykurgos. Leipzig, 1856.

The Greek forger had in fact also produced a parchment MS. of the *Hermas*, like those of *Uranus* and other authors; and this had been actually procured by *Dindorf*, who was taken in by it. This however was not all that *Simonides* had done. In the transcript of the *Athos* MS., which had passed into the possession of the *Leipsic Library*, he had introduced capricious emendations and unwarranted additions to fill up the *lacunae* of the original. To a large extent therefore the importance of the discovery became limited to the three original leaves; for the remainder of the Greek text, owing to the misbehaviour of *Simonides*, had lost more than half of its value, since scholars were unable to determine to what extent he had tampered with it. This unhappy state of things was not entirely obviated even by *Tischendorf's* subsequent discovery of the *Sinaitic Codex*; for only a small portion of the *Shepherd* was contained in it, namely from the commencement of the work to the end of the fourth *Mandate*; and even in this there were several *lacunae*. Accordingly the *apographon* of *Simonides* has continued to be studied, and the problem is still discussed whether there is any just ground for regarding it as a faithful copy of the original contained in the missing *Athos* leaves, or whether on the contrary it should be considered as wholly untrustworthy. Indeed the most recent editors of the *Shepherd* have not only presented in their *apparatus criticus* the readings of *Anger*, and also those of *Tischendorf* who collated the *apographon* afresh¹; but have even taken the trouble to collate it again for themselves.

It is thus perfectly obvious that the tradition of the Greek text of one of the earliest Christian writers is in so defective a state, that its critical reconstruction has become a sort of guess-work, involving an appeal to the previously known Latin version, and even to the *Ethiopic translation*. *Hilgenfeld*, one of the editors, is fully justified in declaring that under these conditions the restoration of the Greek text of the *Hermas* is a task beyond the power of any single man. I may therefore confidently express my belief that the discovery of the original MS. from

¹ *Tischendorf* edited the other *apographon*, which was subsequently extracted from *Simonides*: see Preface, p. viii. J. A. R.

which Simonides made his copy will be hailed by students of ecclesiastical literature with almost the same delight as was experienced by the learned world, when the Greek text first appeared and it was not yet known to how large an extent that text was untrustworthy.

In the summer of 1880 I was cataloguing the MSS. of the Athos libraries. By the help of my enthusiastic colleagues I had just finished the catalogue of the library of the small monastery of Gregory which contains only 155 Codices¹, when the Priest Victor who superintended it shewed me among other things six MS. leaves which were preserved with special care. They contained in extremely fine writing the Shepherd of Hermas. I confined myself at that time simply and solely to a description of this precious Codex for my Catalogue. But later on, when an opportunity presented itself in 1883, I took pains to procure a careful and exact copy of the whole of it. I engaged for this purpose one of my former pupils, who had been my colleague on the mission of 1880, Dr Philip Georgandas, a young man thoroughly skilled in palaeography, and experienced in making accurate transcriptions and collations. The result was that I was fully convinced that I had actually discovered the much-desired original of the *apographon* of Simonides.

This MS. then of the Shepherd, which is thus preserved in the library of the monastery of Gregory, I numbered as 96 when I made my Catalogue of the Athos MSS. It consists, as I have said, in its present condition of six leaves, which to judge by the style of the handwriting must have been written in the fourteenth century². As I have already stated, the writing is extremely fine; so that each page contains on an average 72 lines, and each line about 90 letters. The following headings are written in red ink: ἀρχὴ συν θεῷ βιβλου λεγομένης ποιμήν,

¹ See my Report to the Greek Chamber, in Rickenbach's translation; Besuch auf dem Berge Athos, Wien, 1881.

² The leaves of the same MS. preserved at Leipsic are ascribed by Anger to the beginning of the fifteenth century: but Tischendorf thinks they were written in the fourteenth century. With the latter judgment coincides entirely the impression I myself entertained when I made my Catalogue, before I had observed the connexion of the Codex with these leaves, or had learnt the date ascribed to them by the above-mentioned German critics.

ὁρασις α', ὁρασις β', ὁρασις τρίτη, ὁρασις τετάρτη, ὁρασις ε', ἐντολή α', ἐντολή β', ἐντολή τρίτη, ἐντολή τετάρτη, ἐντολή ε', ἐντολή ἕκτη, ἐντολή ζ', ἐντολή η', ἐντολή ἐνάτη, ἐντολή δεκάτη, ἐντολή ια', ἐντολή ιβ'. The initial capitals of the words which immediately follow these headings and commence each chapter are also always in red. So too is the superfluous heading ἀρχή, mentioned in the note on p. 126, l. 4, of Gebhardt and Harnack's large edition, and the initial capital of the following word λέγω; as well as that of the word μετὰ which commences Sim. ix., the heading of which is wanting in the Codex. At the first glance therefore the external features of the Codex would suggest that it belonged to the same MS. as the three leaves of the Shepherd preserved in the Leipsic Library: and a closer investigation leaves no room for doubt on this point. Not only is there a tradition among the monks in whose monastery it lies, that the missing leaves were abstracted by Minas Minoides (as they told me, confusing him no doubt with Simonides); but also the Leipsic leaves fit in exactly with those of the Athos MS.¹, so that all the nine leaves together must originally have formed one and the same Codex according to the following arrangement:—

1. From the commencement down to the words ἡμαρτηκότες καὶ θέλοντες (Gebh. and Harn. p. 42, ll. 2, 3) in the Monastery of Gregory.

2. From οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὐκ ἀπερρίφησαν to ἀθῶός ἐστιν ὡς γὰρ (p. 74, l. 6) in the Monastery of Gregory.

3. From ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου to ἀποστέρησις ψευδομαρτυρία (p. 98, l. 12) in the Monastery of Gregory.

4. From ἐπιθυμία πονηρὰ to ἐγὼ γὰρ (p. 128, l. 6) in the Monastery of Gregory.

5, 6. From ἔσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν to λέγει αὐτοῖς ἕκαστος (p. 182, l. 11) in the University Library at Leipsic.

7. From τὰς ἰδίας ῥάβδους to οὗτοι οὖν οἱ λίθοι (p. 204, l. 18) in the Monastery of Gregory.

¹ The length of the Athos Codex is 21,5 centim., and the breadth 14 centim.: the length of the written portion of each page is 18,5 centim., and the breadth 12 centim.

8. From ἀπρεπεῖς ἦσαν to δὴ[λωσόν μοι] (p. 228, l. 1) in the Monastery of Gregory.

9. From [δὴ]λωσόν μοι to οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν μελανίσει...δὲ (p. 254, l. 29) in the University Library at Leipsic.

It is clear from the above table that even after the discovery of the Athos Codex the Greek text of the Hermas is not yet complete; as we are still without the concluding portion (Gebh. and Harn. p. 256, l. 1—p. 270, l. 13), which is only known to us through the versions. This still missing conclusion occupied only a single leaf of the Athos Codex, if we reckon by the amount contained in each of the leaves which are now known. The leaf however must have been already lost when Simonides discovered the Codex; otherwise he would certainly have made a copy of it, if he could not have carried it away with him.

After these preliminary remarks I may go on to give an accurate collation of the transcript of Dr Georgandas, which I have made with the large edition of Gebhardt and Harnack¹. I may here remark in general that from this collation it will be seen:

(1) First, that the Codex, which even in Simonides' time was in certain places very worn and consequently illegible, is now still more injured, so that such gaps are proportionately greater than before:

(2) Secondly, that Simonides in his *apographon* did not always mark as such the gaps which then existed, but filled them up for the most part of his own caprice:

(3) Thirdly, that, generally speaking, his transcript was both inexact and unscrupulous, in consequence of his arbitrary alteration of the text in many places. Besides this, it appears that Simonides desired to put his hand even to the original. There are on the margin of the Codex certain notes written by a later hand and in larger writing, which according to the tradition of the monks are due to him; for here again the name of Simonides has been interchanged with that of Minas Minoides. These marginal notes, which in any case are worthless, are in parts torn away with the margin itself, so that I did not think it worth while to have them copied out.

¹ Hermae Pastor Graece, addita versione latina recentiore e codice Palatino, recensuerunt et illustraverunt Oscar de Gebhardt, Adolfus Harnack. Patrum Apostolicorum Opera, fasciculus II. Lipsiae, J. C. Hinrichs, 1877.

II.

The Athos Codex has many points of divergence from the edition of Gebhardt and Harnack in the use of the euphonic *ν*, and also in the accentuation of enclitics: sometimes the Codex is right, and sometimes it is wrong. These places I enumerate here; and I may mention that I have only omitted to register such discrepancies as I have thought it worth while for special reasons to include in the Collation which follows.

The euphonic *ν* is wanting in the Codex before a consonant in the following places:

ἐθνεσι 20, 9; 78, 20. πασι 18, 18; 20, 8; 26, 3; 74, 2 (bis); 80, 12; 194, 5. ἔστι 10, 10; (οὐκ) 24, 4; 128, 6. ἐστὶ 32, 11. ἐστι 24, 4; (φημι) 32, 4; 48, 2; 62, 13; 64, 8, 21; 72, 16; 78, 16; 80, 18. εἰσι 4, 2; 38, 5, 6, 11; 44, 4; 48, 5, 6. φησὶ 24, 5; 30, 4, 24; 32, 9; 36, 13; 44, 10; 46, 8; 48, 9; 56, 5, 20; 64, 21; 90, 21. φασὶ 204, 25. δίδωσι 72, 17. ἔχουσι 32, 14, 15; 36, 4; 42, 12; 46, 7 (sec.). μετανοοῦσι 46, 3; 80, 12. ποι-οῦσι 56, 2. ταλαιπωροῦσι 44, 22. μεταδιδούσι 50, 20. ἀπο-δώσουσι 74, 3. ἀρμόσουσι 46, 9. δοξάσουσι 38, 7. ἔξουσι 46, 7. κατισχύσουσι 22, 14. τίσουσι 74, 5. ἀπέστειλε 64, 3. ἀπῆλθε 66, 12 (bis). ἐγνώρισε 16, 18—19. ἔδειξε 60, 2. ἔθηκε 82, 14. εἶασε 32, 1, 2. εἶπε 10, 5. εἶχε 54, 10; 62, 6, 11; 64, 18. ἐκάθισε 10, 4. ἔλαβε 4, 3; 30, 11; 68, 6; 74, 6. ἐμέλησε 22, 9. ἐνέφραξε 64, 4. ἔπραξε 80, 16. ἔστηκε 56, 25; 58, 14. ἤκουσε 58, 9. ἤλέησε 12, 2. ἦλθε 10, 3; 30, 15. ἤρεσε 16, 6. ἠρώτησε 24, 7. προσῆλθε 30, 12. σέσωκε 22, 12. ὑπερμειδιάσε 46, 18. ὤμοσε 20, 16. γινώσκωσι 34, 29. μετα-νοήσωσι 20, 4; 194, 5. τηρήσωσι 16, 1. βασανισθῶσι 46, 9—10. ἀκούσασι 64, 15—16. ἀπεγνώκασι 8, 14.

The euphonic *ν* is wanting in the Codex before a vowel in the following places:

ῥήμασι 126, 2. ἐστι 38, 17; 70, 4; 94, 1; 122, 4 (pr.). εἰσι 38, 1; 42, 2 (pr.). φησὶ 68, 3; 76, 1; 80, 11; 84, 5. φησι 24, 4; 68, 9; 78, 13; 80, 12, 22, 25; 98, 2; 106, 10;

126, 23. ἀπολάβωσι 20, 11. μετανοήσωσι 42, 6. μετανε-
νοήκασι 188, 15—16. πέρυσι 18, 3.

The euphonic *ν* is found in the Codex in the following
places before a consonant:

παραφυάσιν 184, 15. ἐστὶν 222, 12. ἐστίν 102, 1. εἰσὶν
222, 19; 224, 6. εἰσιν 222, 13. φησιν 220, 4; 226, 17. περι-
πατοῦσιν 92, 4. ἐπιμείνωσιν 190, 22. μετανοήσωσιν 190, 14,
22. πορευθῶσιν 226, 4. πέρυσιν 16, 14.

The following enclitics stand in the Codex rightly without
accent:

τινος 202, 10. τινα 220, 15. τινες 208, 9 (pr.). εἰμι 88, 4.
ἐστί 24, 4 (sec.); 70, 4; 92, 3, 18 (bis); 96, 20; 186, 4; 190,
22; 220, 3 (pr.); 222, 26. ἐστίν 88, 12; 188, 13; 196, 2; 222,
7 (pr.) εἰσι 216, 18. εἰσιν 44, 3; 80, 21; 96, 8; 98, 1. ἐστί
64, 24. φημι 32, 9; 76, 2, 5; 78, 8, 11; 80, 19; 82, 1; 84, 5;
88, 1; 90, 20; 92, 11, 24; 98, 1; 102, 2; 106, 3, 8; 108, 26;
114, 3; 122, 2, 22; 124, 20; 184, 23; 214, 4, 10; 216, 24; 218,
5, 26, 27; 220, 1, 13, 17; 222, 5, 11; 224, 11, 28; 226, 12.
φησι 26, 1; 32, 9; 36, 13; 48, 9; 56, 5, 20; 68, 9; 76, 6; 78,
13; 80, 12; 84, 17; 90, 21; 92, 9 (pr.), 12; 94, 24; 96, 23;
98, 2, 21; 102, 1; 106, 10; 112, 1; 114, 4; 118, 5; 126, 23,
25; 184, 24; 206, 19; 216, 18; 218, 26 (sec.); 222, 4, 5 (bis), 9;
224, 14, 15. φησιν 6, 4; 62, 18; 76, 10; 80, 3; 88, 2; 90, 19;
92, 24; 94, 17; 96, 20; 98, 10, 18; 102, 2; 104, 21; 108, 1;
122, 3; 124, 21; 186, 9; 218, 24, 26 (pr.); 222, 4; 226, 17.
φασιν 204, 27.

The following enclitics have their accent wrongly omitted:

τινι 78, 3. τινα 32, 15; 224, 20. εἰμι 80, 11. ἐστί 32, 4;
38, 17; 48, 2; 62, 13; 64, 8; 88, 19; 106, 6; 126, 20; 188, 25;
226, 17. ἐστίν 32, 12; 76, 24, 25; 78, 18; 86, 18 (pr.); 92, 5;
94, 7; 112, 2; 124, 6. εἰσι 38, 5; 42, 2; 44, 4; 222, 22. εἰσιν
40, 9, 15 (bis); 42, 16, 18 (sec.); 44, 28; 48, 12; 92, 9. εἰσιν
(sic) 36, 20. φημι 80, 25; 112, 1; 226, 14. φησι 24, 4; 78, 2,
18; 80, 22, 25; 92, 7; 96, 15; 206, 7; 216, 12; 222, 2; 224,
26. φησιν 8, 6; 18, 6; 80, 25; 84, 7; 110, 1; 188, 14; 194,
12; 222, 17.

The following enclitics have wrongly kept their accent in the Codex:

σοὶ 114, 5. τίς 78, 19; 84, 7. τινὶ 58, 7. ἐστίν 38, 10; 220, 2. εἰσὶ 126, 7. εἰσὶν 44, 1, 6, 28 (sec.); 222, 19.

In the following places we have words which have not taken the accent of the enclitic which comes after them:

μου (εἰσιν) 80, 21. σοι (φησι) 82, 16; (φησιν) 90, 21; 96, 20. ἤθελον (φημι) 88, 1. εἶδες (φησι) 222, 4. ἄκουε (φησι) 98, 2; (φησιν) 220, 4. νηστεύσαντος (μου) 18, 11. δύναται (φησι) 126, 25. ἐνετειλατο (μοι) 68, 15.

The following paroxytone words have wrongly taken the accent of the enclitic which comes after them:

εἰδωλολάτρης 112, 17. τρόμος 30, 11. οἰκῶ 24, 7; 66, 16. χρόνόν 224, 20. φρίκη 30, 12. δόξαν 32, 15. καρδίαν 104, 5, 6. δυνάμεις 222, 22. μέρη 32, 12. μεγάλη 76, 24—25. πονηροτέρᾳ 106, 6. μόνον 78, 18. αὕτη 8, 19. ἄλλων 32, 4. πάντᾳ 216, 12. τίνες 36, 20; 38, 5; 40, 15; 42, 2, 18; 44, 4, 28. ὅσοι 188, 14; 194, 12. θέλω 90, 21. λέγω 82, 16. μέλλω 120, 24. ἔχεις 224, 26. ἐννεύει 32, 1. ποιήσει 82, 12. γαμήσῃ 84, 6. λάβέ 18, 6. λέγέ 78, 2; 80, 25. γράψαί 194, 23. [ἐψωρ]ιακότης 42, 16. ζήση 80, 22. πορεύσῃ 92, 7. ἀπεκαλύφθῃ 18, 12. ἐδηλώθῃ 196, 3. ἐστάθῃ 30, 16. ἐφανερώθῃ 196, 5, 6. γεγεννημέναί 48, 11. τεθεμελιωμένα 38, 17. ἔτι 80, 25. ὀπίσω 200, 27. οὐπώ 206, 7. οὐτώ 218, 28. ἵνα 6, 3; 20, 1; 28, 7; 32, 20; 38, 11; 54, 7. ὅτι 16, 18; 96, 15. ὥστε 126, 15.

I now go on to give the Collation of the Codex with the text ascribed to the *apographon* of Simonides in the edition of Gebhardt and Harnack. The dotted lines indicate places which are illegible in the Codex. I have placed (sic) after those which are found exactly as I have written them down, in spite of the difference of reading in the *apographon* of Simonides, as testified to either by Anger or by Tischendorf. To avoid all possibility of confusion, I have taken no account whatever of the new readings discussed in the notes to pp. ix and x of the edition.

THE COLLATION OF THE ATHOS CODEX.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>2, 2 πέπρακέν με ῥέδῃ τινι : πέ-
πρακε εἰς γυναῖκά τινα</p> <p>3 αὐτήν (sic)</p> <p>3, 4 ὡς ἀδελφὴν :</p> <p>4 χρόνον τινὰ λουομένην εἰς :
χρόνους πολλοὺς.....παρὰ</p> <p>7 μακάριος ἤμην εἰ :</p> <p>4, 1 κούμας : κώμας
δοξάζοντος (sic)</p> <p>3 ἀνοδίας τινός (sic)</p> <p>4 ἡς ἀνθρωπος (sic)
ἦν (sic)</p> <p>5 ἀπερρηγώς ἀπὸ : ἀπερρωγώς
ὑπὸ</p> <p>6 τὰ ὀμαλά (sic)
τιθῶ : τιθεῖς</p> <p>8 ἡνολίγη (sic)</p> <p>6, 3 ἀπεκρίθη : φησὶ
μοι Ἀνελήμφθην :</p> <p>7 ἔνεκεν : ἔνεκα</p> <p>8, 1 θεὸν ἡγησάμην : θυγατέρα ἡ-
γούμην</p> <p>2 σε ἐνετράπην ὡς ἀδελφὴν ; τί :
.....τί</p> <p>4 ἡ (sic)</p> <p>7 βουλεύεται (sic)</p> <p>9 πονηρὰ (sic)</p> <p>11 γαυριῶντες :</p> | <p>13 ἐπείδα (sic)</p> <p>14 ἑαυτοὺς : ἑαυτοῦ
ἀπεγνώκασιν (sic)</p> <p>20 τελείων : πολλῶν</p> <p>10, 1 κατέναντί : κατ' ἐνώπιόν</p> <p>3 πρεσβύτες : πρεσβύτες</p> <p>6 τί : τίς</p> <p>12 πάνσεμνον : πᾶν σεμνὸν</p> <p>17 ὑμᾶς : ἡμᾶς</p> <p>18 αὐτῶν : αὐτοῦ</p> <p>19 ἀφήκας : ἀφήκες</p> <p>12, 1 ἀλλ' ἡ πολυσπλαγχνία : ἀλλὰ
ἡ πολλὴ εὐσπλαγχνία</p> <p>2 καὶ ἰσχυροποιήσῃ σε : ἰσχυρο-
ποιήσῃ</p> <p>3 ἀλλὰ : ἀλλ'</p> <p>4 σφυροκοπῶν : σφυροκοπεῖ</p> <p>5 περιγίνεται τοῦ πράγματος οὐ :
περὶ αὐτὸ πράττει ὁ</p> <p>14, 12 τοὺς βουνοὺς : τὰ βουνὰ</p> <p>13 γίνεται (sic)</p> <p>16, 7 ἀρίσκει (sic)</p> <p>11 Ἰαπὰ δὲ : καὶ (omisso Ἰαπὰ)</p> <p>14 ὃν καὶ deest</p> <p>16 πέρυσσι (sic)
ἐλθὼν : εἴθ' οὖν</p> <p>18, 3 βιβλιδάριον (sic)</p> <p>7 ἔλαβον ἐγὼ :</p> |
|---|---|

- 8 ηδρισκον (sic)
 9 μου: μοι
 16 τὰς ἀσελγείας καὶ συμφυρμούς:
 καὶ ταῖς ἀσελγείαις καὶ συμ-
 φυρμοῖς
 19 συμβίβει σου (sic)
 20, 3 τοῖς ἀμαρτήσασιν: ἄφεσις
 ἔσται τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι
 ταύτης τῆς (sic)
 4 τῆς καρδίας (pr.): καρδίας
 7 ἀμαρτησις (sic)
 αὐτοῦς (sic)
 9 ἕως: ἕως τῆς
 ἐσχάτης (sic)
 11 ἐκ πλήρους: ἐκπληρ....
 13 πάροδος: περίοδος
 15 θλίψιν: θλίψιν (etiam 22, 16;
 44, 7, θλίψις)
 22, 4 μνησικακίης (sic)
 5 τὴν ἀδελφὴν: τοὺς ἀδελφούς
 6 παιδεία δικαία (sic)
 σὺ μὴ: σὺ
 8 διὰ τὰς παραβάσεις: δια.....

 11 θεοῦ ζῶντος (sic)
 ἀπλότης (sic)
 13 καὶ πορευομένους:
 14 παραμενοῦσιν (sic)
 15—16 οὐ διαφθαρήσονται (sic)
 17 σοι (sic)
 ἄρνησαι:
 18 ὥς: ..
 Ἑλδὰδ καὶ Μωδὰτ: ἐλὰδ καὶ
 μωδάδ
 24, 1 Ἀπεκαλύφθη: ἀπεκαλύφθημεν
 ὑπὸ νεανίσκου: ὑπὸ τινος νε-
 ανίου
 3 Σίβυλλαν. Πλανᾶσαι φησὶν:
 σιβύλλαν· πλανᾶσθαί φησι
 8 πρεσβυτέροις (sic)
 26, 1 προσθεῖναι (sic)
 28, 2 νουθητέσαι: νουθετ....
 5 ὁρασις γ': ὁρασις τρίτη
 6 ἦν εἶδον: ὁρασι.....
 8 διὰ (sic)
 ἐκείνης αὐτῇ:
 9 εἰ καὶ: καὶ
 30, 1 τὸ γινώσκειν (sic)
 χονδρίζεις: χρονίζεις
 2 ἐμφανισθήσομαι: .. φανισθή-
 σομαί
 5 αὐτῇ: αὐτὴν (post ὅπου θέλεις
 habet codex ἐξελεξάμεν τό-
 πον καλὸν ἀνακεχωρηκότα·
 πρὶν δὲ λαλῆσαι αὐτὴν εἰ-
 πεῖν τόπον λέγει μοι sed
 hic locus, quia e superiori-
 bus reiteratus, totus ex-
 stinctus est)
 8 συμψελίου: συμψελλίου
 9 λεντίου: λέντιον
 λῖνον καρπύσινον: λινοῦν καρ-
 πύσιον
 10 καὶ μηδένα ὄντα:
 15 ἔξ οὗς (sic)
 17 ἀψαμένη (sic)
 18 πάντα: πάνυ
 19 τι deest
 23 πρῶτον: πρώτους
 Ὁ σοι: ὦ, σοι
 24 εἰς τὰ: εἰς
 32, 2 καθίσω (sic)
 διαλογιζομένου: λογιζομένου
 ὅτι: μου ὅτι
 7 ἐργάζωνται (sic)
 8 et 9 ὑπήνεγκαν (sic)
 10 εἵνεκεν: ἕνεκεν
 11—12 διὰ τὸ ὄνομα: διὰ τὸ ὄνο-
 μα τοῦ θεοῦ
 14 ἔχουσιν (sic)

- 16 καθαρισθήσῃ : καθαρισθήσῃ
 34, 1 μέγα πρᾶγμα (sic)
 2 οὐχ ὄρεῖς : ὁ λόφος
 3 οἰκοδομούμενον ἐπὶ (sic)
 4 δὲ (sic)
 10—11 τὴν ἀρμογὴν : τὰς ἀρ-
 μογὰς
 18 στρογγύλοι (sic)
 21 πῦρ : πυρᾶς
 ἐπιπτόντας (sic)
 25 ἤθελεν—ἐστιν : ἠθέλησεν ἀπο-
 τρέχειν. λέγω αὐτῇ κυρία
 μου τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος ταῦτα
 ἔωρακέαι καὶ μὴ γινώσκειν
 τί ἐστι ταῦτα
 27 ἄνθρωπε, θέλων : ἄνθρωπος ἐθέ-
 λων
 28 ναί : καί
 29 γίνονται : γένονται
 γινώσκων : γινώσκωσι
 36, 6 οἰκοδομούμενον (sic)
 καὶ νῦν deest
 10 ἐνδέχεται σοι ἀποκαλυφθῆναι :
 ἐνδέχεται ἀποκαλυφθῆναι
 σοι
 12 διατί : διὰ τί
 15 ὑμῶν (sic)
 διὰ : ἐπὶ
 19 κυρία (sic)
 20 οἱ ἔξ οἱ (sic)
 38, 1 κτισθέντες :
 6 οὖν : δὲ αὐτῶν
 10 ἐκ (sic)
 12 βελτίους (sic)
 13 σοί : σοι
 15—16 ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ : ἀληθῆ ἐστι
 40, 2 σεμνότης (sic)
 3—4 ἀγνῶς καὶ σεμνῶς : ἀγνῶν
 καὶ σεμνῶν
 10—12 τοὺς δὲ—ἔφη : ὁ δὲ ἔφη
 12—14 locus τοὺς μὲν—κυρίου
 non deest
 15 τιθέμενοι : ἐπιτιθέμενοι
 νέοι εἰσιν (sic)
 16 δὲ ὑπὸ : ὑπὸ
 42, 1 ἀγαθοποιεῖν : ποιεῖν τὸ
 ἐν αὐτοῖς : αὐτοῖς
 2—3 μετανοῆσαι· διὰ τοῦτο μα-
 κρὰν οὐκ ἀπερίφησαν :
 οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὐκ
 ἀπερρίφθησαν
 4 μετανοήσωσιν (sic)
 4—5 οἱ οὖν μᾶλλοντες μετανοῶν
 ἐάν—ἐάν νῦν :

 6 οἰκοδομεῖται (sic)
 7 οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν τόπον, ἀλλ'
 ἔσονται ἐκβολαί : οὐκ.... ..

 9 δὲ (sic)
 10 γῶναι—υἱοί : γν.....
 11 ἐν ὑποκρίσει (sic)
 12 εἰσὶν εὐχρηστοὶ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν :
 εἰ.....δομὴν τοῦ
 πύργου
 15—16 οἰκοδομὴν οὗτοι οἱ μὲν ἐφη-
 ριακότες εἰσιν : οἰκοδο.....
ιακότες εἰσιν
 18 ἄχρηστοί εἰσιν. Οἱ δὲ τὰς :
 ἄχρη.....
 20 οἱ εἰς μὲν πρόσωπον εἰρήνην :

 22 ἔχουσιν οἱ λίθοι. οἱ δὲ : ἔ....

 44, 1 πλείον (sic)
 2—3 ἔχουσιν—καλοβαί : ἔχοντ
βαί
 4—5 ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει : ἀπ

 6 ἑπερωτᾶς (sic)

- 7 τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ὅταν : ἔτι : τὸν
 20 ὡς εἶν οὖν συντελεσθῇ : ἕως
 8 τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν : αὐτῶν τὸν αὖν
 κύριον 21 ἐποικοδομηθήσεται : ἐπικοδο-
 9 ἔσονται : μηθήσεται
 14 κυρίῳ (sic) 50, 1 ἡ ὑπόμνησις—καὶ ἡ (sic)
 15—16 εὐχρηστος ἤς (sic) ἀνακαίνωσις : ἀνακαίνισις
 16 εὐχρηστοί : εὐχρηστος 2—3 τῶν πνευμάτων—αὐτὰ (sic,
 γίνεσθαι : sed Codex habet οὐ σοι
 18 οὐς (sic) μόνῳ ταῦτα)
 21 ἀφίουσιν : ἀφίουςι 3 τρεῖς : τινες
 δοκοῦντες (sic) 4 σοι : δέ σοι
 26 τῶν πονηριῶν (sic) 8 ἐν πολλῇ : πολλῇ
 28 οἱ (sic) 9 ὑμᾶς (sic)
 46, 4 ἐτέλεσεν (sic) 12 τῆς πονηρίας : τῶν πονηριῶν
 5 αὐτήν (sic) 14 κτίσματα (sic)
 6 εἰ ἔστιν : ἔστιν κατὰ χάματος : καταλύματος
 7 τούτου (sic) 19 ἀσυνκράσια : ἀσυγκρυσία
 11 ὅτι : ὅτε 23 ἀγαθοποιεῖν : ἀγαθοποιεῖσθαι
 τοῦ βήματος : τοὺς οὓς μετὰ βλέπετε (sic)
 12 τῶν βασάνων : τῆς βασάνου 24 στενάξουσιν : στενάξωσιν
 14 σώζονται (sic) 52, 1 ἀναβήσεται (sic)
 14—15 σκληροκαρδίαν (sic) 2 τῶν ἀγαθῶν : τῶν ἀσχέτων
 19 ἑπτὰ : τὰς ἀγαθῶν
 φημί (sic) 6 ἐνεσκρωμένοι : ἐσκρρημένοι
 21 πρώτη : α' 10 ἀποστερήσουσιν : ἀποστήσωσι
 22 πίστις (sic) 12 αὐτοῖς : ἑαυτοῖς
 48, 2 οὖν ἀκολουθήσῃ (sic) 54, 2 αὐτήν : αὐτοὶ
 3 μακάριος γίνεται : μακαρίως 3 τέσσαρες : δέ
 ἔστι συμψέλιον : συμψέλλιον
 τῶν (sic) 6 ἐνεφανίσθη (sic)
 5 κυρία (sic) 8 περυσινῇ (sic)
 τίνες : ποῖαί 9 ἑτέρα : β^ε
 16 ισχύσῃ (sic) 11 ὑλαρωτέρα (sic)
 κρατῆσαι : κρατεῖσθαι ἦν ἡ : ἡ
 17 ἀγίων : τέκνων 17 παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου : παρ' ἡμῶν
 ἐπηρώτων : ἐπηρώτησα 19 ἐν δεῖσαι : ἐνδεῶν
 18 τῶν καιρῶν (sic) 20 βλάβης : βλάβεις
 φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (sic) 21 δύνῃ : δένῃ
 19 ὁρᾶς : ὁρῶν ἀποκαλύψεις : ἀποκαλύψεως

- ὦν : ὄν
 56, 3 ἀπό σου : ὑπό σου
 9 γάρ οἱ deest
 ἑλπίδα (sic)
 10 κοίμησιν : κόμην
 13 ἐπαλαιώθητε : ἐπορεύθητε
 14 διατί (sic)
 15—16 συνκρατηθῇ ἡ ἀσθένεια :

 ἔχεις (sic)
 19 ἱλαρωτέραν παρὰ τὸ :
 21 ἥδη ἀφελπικῶς ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὴν
 ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῦ : ἀπελπι...
 ἑαυτὸν
 24 ἀκούσας δὲ ἐξηγέρθη :
θῃ
 25 οὐκέτι ἀνακείται ἀλλὰ : οὐκ
 ἐπανάκειται ἀλλ'
 26—27 ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοῦ
 πράξεων : ἐκ τοῦ
 (?) πρα^ς
 27 ἀλλὰ (sic)
 οὕτως : οὕτω
 28 ὅτι : ...
 58, 1 ἐσπλαγχνίσθη :
 ἐφ' ὑμᾶς (sic)
 ἀνενώσατο : ἀνανεώσατε
 1—2 ἀπέθεσθε : ἀπόθεσθε (?)
 2 ἰσχυρότης : ἰσχυρότερον
 2—3 ἐνεδυναμώθητε ἐν τῇ πίστει :
 ἐνεδυνα
 5 ἐὰν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας :
 καρδίαις
 7, 8 λυπουμένη (sic)
 8 ἀγγελία ἀγαθὴ τις :

 10 λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν : λοιποὺς
 εἰς τὰ ἀγαθὰ
 14 τεσσάρων : δυν^ς
 16 ἀπέχεις ὀλοτελῇ (sic)
 17 αἰτήσεις : αἰτήσης
 τι δὲ : δέ τι
 19 δ' : τετάρτη
 21 τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐπερχομένης :
 τῶν θλίψεων τῶν ἐπερχομέ-
 νων
 22 Καμπανῇ : καμπύλῃ
 ἔστιν ὥσα : ἔστιν ὥς
 60, 1 δὲ : δ'
 7 (et 19) διψυχήσεις : διψυχή-
 σης
 8 ἐν ἑμαυτῷ : καὶ ἐν ἑμαυτῷ
 9 τεθμελιωμένος (sic)
 11 ἑαυτῷ : ἑμαυτῷ
 12 σταδίου (sic)
 16—17 ὡς κεράμους : ὡσεὶ κερά-
 μων
 62, 2 ῥόζιφ (sic)
 3 πόλιν λυμᾶναι : πόλεις λυμᾶναι
 4 ἐκτείνει ἑαυτὸ (sic)
 5 προέβαλλεν : προέβαλε
 6 τέσσερα : δ'
 8 καὶ προελθεῖν (sic)
 10—11 κατακεκαλυμμένη : κεκα-
 λυμμένη
 11 μήτρα (sic)
 14 ἀνθρωπε (sic)
 ἀντησπασάμην (sic)
 64, 1 ἐπέριψας : ἐπέρριψας
 7 ἐξήγησαι (sic)
 εἰπὲ : εἶπον
 12 δουλεύσητε (sic)
 ἐπιρρίψατε (sic)
 14 ἀποστρέψαι : ἀποστρέψει
 ὀργὴν (sic)
 18 τεσσάρων : δυν^ς
 66, 1 εὐχρηστον γίνεται : εὐχρηστόν
 ἔστι
 4 σκωρίαν : σκωρέαν
 ἀποβαλεῖτε : ἀποβαλεῖσθε

- 9 διαλίπης λαλῶν : διαλίπης
ταῦτα λαλεῖν
- 10 θλήσῃτε (sic)
- 11 εἶπασα : εἰκοῦσα
- 16 καθίσαντος : καθήσαντος
- 17 λευκόν : αἷγιον λευκόν
- 19 ἀντησπασάμην (sic)
- 20 παρακάθισέν : παρακάθισέ
- 21 ζωῆς σου : ζωῆς μου
- 68, 2 φ (sic)
- 5 ἐκεῖνος ἦν : ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν
παρεδόθην (sic)
συνεχύθην (sic)
- 6 ἔλαβεν : ἔλαβε
- 6—7 ἀπεκρίθην (sic)
- 8 μου : κυρίου
- 9 εἶδες (sic)
- 10 αὐτά (sic)
κεφάλαια : κατὰ
τὰ—σύμφορα : τὰ—συμφέ-
ροντα
- 11 πάντων τὰς ἐντολάς μου γρά-
ψον (sic)
- 11—13 τὰ δὲ ἕτερα—παραβολὰς
non desunt
- 12 οὕτως : οὕτω
- 13 γράψαι : γράψον
καὶ : καὶ τὰς
- 14 δυνήθης (sic)
- 17 δὲ (sic)
- 18 ἀλλ' ἐτι : ἀλλὰ
ὑμῶν (sic)
- 70, 1 ἀπολήμψεσθε : ἀπολήψεσθε
- 2 γράψαι : γράψας
- 72, 1 ὦν : ὦν
- 6 ἄκακος γίνου : ἄκακον τὸν νοῦν
ἔσῃ : ἔσο
- 8 ἡδέως : μετὰ
- 10 πιστεύσης : πιστεύεις
- 11 κατὰ (sic)
- 15 σεμνότητά : ὁσφύν σου
- 17 δίδωσίν σοι : δίδωσί σοι
- 74, 6, 7 τελῆσαι—ἐτέλεσεν :
.....
- 7 μῆθεν : μὴ
- 8 ἀπλῶς : ἀπλῇ
- 9 οὕτως (sic)
- 9—10 τὰς ἐντολάς ταύτας : τὴν
ἐντολὴν ταύτην
- 11 ἡ καρδιά σου : ἀκακία
καθαρά καὶ ἀμίαντος (sic)
- 12 γ' : τρίτη
- 14 τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ ὁ θεός (sic)
- 16 κύριος ὁ ἐν (sic)
- 18 (et 21) ἀποστερηταί : ἀπαρ-
νηταί
- 20 ἐάν (sic)
- 76, 1 εἰ δύναμαι : οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν
- 3 πανούργως : πανοῦργος
- 11 ψεύδι : ψευδῇ
- 14 λαλήσης (sic)
- 15 ἀπέχεται : ἀφέξεται (e pri-
ma scriptura ἀφέξεται cor-
rectum)
- 17 δ' : τετάρτη
- 21 τῆς δὲ σῆς (sic)
- 23 ἕτερα οὕτως πονηρὰ : ἑτέραν
ὡσαύτως πονηρὰν
- 25 τοῦτο (sic)
- 78, 2 ἐπερωτήσαί : ἐπερωτήσαί
- 2—3 κύριε, φημί, εἰ γυναῖκα ἔχη
τις : εἰ γυναῖκα φημί κύριε
- 4 ἀγνοίας : εὐνοίας
- 7—8 κοινωνὸς τῆς μοιχείας : κοι-
νωνεῖ τῇ μοιχείᾳ
- 8 ποιήσῃ : ποιήσει
- 10 γυναῖκα ἑτέραν (sic)
- 12 θλήσῃ : θελήσῃ
- 14 μεγάλην (sic)
- 15 τὸν (sic)

- 17 ὀφέλῃαι : ὠφέλει
 19 τις : τίς
 20 καὶ ἐν τοῖς : καὶ
 ἐὰν ἐμμένῃ : ἐπιμείνῃ
 21 μετανοῇ : μετανοήσῃ
 μὴ συνῆθι : μὴδὲ σύζῃθι
 80, 4 συντελῆται (sic)
 5 τὸν (sic)
 ἐστιν : ἐστι
 9 συνῶ : συνιῶ
 13 σύνεσιν εἶναι : σύνεσις ἐστι
 μεγάλη
 18 ἡμαρτεν (sic)
 19 παρὰ σοῦ : παρὰ σου
 22 εἰν τὰς (sic)
 23 ἀκούσας (sic)
 82, 2 ἐστιν : ἐστιν
 ἐκείνη (sic)
 5 ἀγνέει (sic)
 ἑξακριβάξῃ (sic)
 8 μετάνοιαν ἀμαρτιῶν : μεγάλην
 ἀμαρτίαν
 10 γὰρ (sic)
 13 πονηρεύσεται (sic)
 14 ἐσπλαγχνίσθη (sic)
 16 τὴν κλήσιν : πνεύματος κλή-
 σιν
 84, 8 μεγάλην (sic)
 10 ἢ καὶ : καὶ
 11 μέλλω (sic)
 φύλασσε : φύλλασσε
 14 πορευθῶσιν (sic)
 19 ἔσῃ : ἦς
 86, 1 πονηροῦ deest
 2 ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ (sic)
 3 ἱλαρότητι : ἱλαρότητι πολλῇ
 4 ὀξυχολία τις (sic)
 5 ἔχον (sic)
 9 οὖν : δὲ
 10 ἐπὶ : τὰ ἐπὶ
 κατοικοῦντα (sic)
 ἀσύμφορόν ἐστιν : ἀσύμφορά
 ἐστι
 11 λαβὼν : λάβῃς
 13 τοσοῦτον—ἀπόλλυνται : πικραί-
 νει
 14 ἀπόλλυνσι : ἀπολλύει
 16—17 εἰς τὸ μέλι—γίνεται : ἐπὶ
 τὸ ἀψίνθιον μὴ βληθῇ μέλι,
 οὐδὲ εὐχρηστόν ἐστι
 17—18 οὖν ὅτι : ὅτι
 18 εὐχρηστός (sic)
 21 ἐστιν εὐχρηστός—αὐτῆς : εὐ-
 χρηστός ἐστι—αὐτοῦ
 88, 1 ἐνέργειαν (sic)
 2 ἀπ' (sic)
 5 αὐτῶν (sec. sic)
 8 ἀκουε νῦν, φησί : ἀκούε φησι
 14 ἐαυτήν (sic)
 16 γίνεται (sic)
 ἐνεκεν : ἐκ
 17 δόσεως ἢ λήψεως (sic)
 18—19 καὶ ἀσύμφορα : καὶ ἄφ-
 ρονα καὶ ἀσύμφορα
 19 μεγάλη (sic)
 20 ἰσχυράν : ἰσχυρά
 στιβαράν καὶ εὐθηνουμένην (sic)
 23 διὰ παντός : διαπαντός
 24 τὴν πίστιν (sic)
 90, 3 ἀπὸ (sic)
 6 ἐκεῖνος κενός : κενὸς κενός
 λοιπὸν : τὸ λοιπὸν
 7 πεπληρωμένος : πεπληρωμένον
 14 παρηνθυμηθῆς (sic)
 16 ἰσχυε οὖν : ἰσχυροῦ
 17 ἐν αὐταῖς (sic)
 18 5' : ἕκτῃ
 19 πρώτη : α'
 23 δικάει καὶ ἀδικεῖ (sic)
 24—25 ὀρθὴν (sic)

- 92, 4, 5 ἀπροσκόπως : ἀπροσκόπτως
6 ἀρέσκει (sic)
9 μετὰ (sic)
19 καὶ : ἡ
20 καὶ τοῦ : τοῦ
- 94, 2 πολυτέλεια : πολυτέλειαι
4 ἐπιθυμία : ἐπιθυμίαι
πλεονεξία : πλεονεξιῶν
10 ἐργασίας : ἐνεργείας
12 πιστότατος : πιστὸς
18 δὲ (sic)
19 τὰ (sic)
- 96, 1 σωθήσῃ : σωθῆναι
3 ἡ : ἡ
5 δὲ τὰ : τὰ
7 αὐτὰ (sic)
ἀφέξει : ἀφέξει
9 ἐργάσῃ (sic)
10 ἐργάσῃ : ἐργάζῃ
15 κτίσις φοβεῖται (sic)
17 ἐκείνων (sic)
18 αὐτοῦ (sic)
αὐτοῖς : αὐτῶ.
98, 1 δεῖ με : ἡμᾶς δεῖ
5 ψεύσματος (sic)
6 πάντων : πάντα
10 πολλά (sic)
ἔστιν : ἔστιν
10—11 ἀφ' ὧν (sic)
12 πλεονεξία deest
πονηρά (sic)
14 καὶ (sic)
τοῖς : φησὶ τοῖς
15 δεῖ (sic)
16 ζήσῃ : ζήσῃς
17 αὐτὰ (sic)
20 καὶ : ἡ
22 ἄ σε (sic)
- 100, 1 ἀγαθώτερον (sic)
3 μὴ (sic)
- 7 ἀγαθοποίησις ποτε : ἀγαθο-
ποίησις ποτὲ
9 ἀδελφότητα : ἀγαθότητα
9—10 συντηρεῖν—εἶναι (sic)
10 ἀμνηστικάκον : μνησικακίαν μὴ
ἔχειν
κάμνοντας—ἐσκανδαλισμένους
(sic)
11 τῆς πίστεως : τῶν πιστῶν
- 102, 2 ἀγαθώτερον (sic)
5 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (sic)
καὶ πάντες (sic)
9 θ' : ἐνάτῃ
10 σεαυτοῦ (sic)
μηδὲν ὅλως : μηδὲν ὅλως
11 τοῦ θεοῦ : σεαυτῷ τὸν θεὸν
13 ὅλης : ὅλης σου
17 οἱ μνησικακοῦντες : μνησικα-
κοῦντες
19 ματαιωμάτων (sic)
20 σοι (sic)
- 104, 3 πάντα (sic)
8—9 λαμβάνῃς (sic)
12 ἐκκακίσης : ἐκκακίσης
13 αὐτῷ (sic)
18 αὐτῆς (sic)
20 πάντων (sic)
21 ὧν (sic)
- 106, 1 ε' : δεκάτῃ
4 ἄλλο (sic)
καὶ ἄλλο : καὶ ἄλλο διψυχία
καὶ ἄλλο
5 ἄνθρωπε :
οὐ : καὶ οὐ
6 πάντα (sic)
8 φημί (sic)
9 συνίω : συνίω
τὰς παραβολὰς (sic)
10 οὐ νοῶ (sic)
12 ἐμπεφυρμένοι (sic)

- 19 ἐμπιπτοντες (sic)
 20—22 καὶ οὐδὲν—πράξεσιν αὐ-
 τῶν : καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως νοοῦσι
 περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ὅταν ἀκούσωσι περὶ θεότη-
 τος καὶ ἀληθείας, ὁ νοῦς
 αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν πράξιν αὐ-
 τῶν
 22 καταγίνεται (sic)
 24 πρὸς : πρὸς τὸν
 108, 1 ἡ λύπη ἐκτρέβει (sic)
 4 ἄγιον : ἄγιον καὶ σώζει πάλιν
 13 ἡ τε : ἡ
 14 θλίβε : θλίβε
 21 πάντοτε (sic)
 24 λυπηροῦ (sic)
 110, 11 ἔδειξε : ἔδοξε
 12 καθέδραν : καθέραν
 112, 2—3 ἀπολλύων : ἀπόλλυσι
 4 μάντιν : μάγον
 5 ἄρα : ἄρα
 κακάνος : κακεῖνος
 6 αὐτοῖς : μετ' αὐτῶν
 7—8 καὶ—ψυχὰς αὐτῶν desunt
 9 κενῶς : κενά
 114, 8 τὸ θεῖον desunt
 11 ἐπερωτώμενος (sic)
 καταμόνας : κατὰ μόνας
 12 τὸ ἄγιον (sic)
 13 αὐτὸν (sic)
 118, 6 ἀλλ' : ἀλλὰ
 μωροῦ (sic)
 9 ἀναιδὴς (sic)
 120, 1 μισθοῦς : μισθὸν (et infra
 v. 3)
 λαμβάνει (sic)
 6 κολλᾶται (sic)
 κατὰ γωνίαν : καταγωνίαν
 7 λαλῶν : λαλοῦν
 11 αὐτῶν : αὐτῆς
 12 ἐπίγειον : ἄγιον
 122, 1 σιφώνισον : συφώνισον
 2 ταῦτα γενέσθαι δύναται : δύ-
 νатаι ταῦτα γενέσθαι
 4 ἐστι (sec.) : εἰσι
 7 λάβε τὴν : λάβε
 9 ἔχουσιν : ἔχει
 16 αὐτὴν (sic)
 βούλει (sic)
 22 ἐστὶν ἔργα : ἔργα ἐστὶ
 24 καὶ ἀφέξομαι : ἵνα ἀφέξωμαι
 124, 6 θυγάτηρ (sic)
 δεῖ : οὐδὲν δεῖ
 7 ζήσητε (sic)
 10 οὖν : δὲ
 11 κυρίου : τοῦ κυρίου
 14 οὐκ ἔτι : οὐκέτι
 16 νίκος : νίκος
 19 βούλει (sic)
 20 φημί (sic)
 21 ἐργάσθῃ : ἐργασαι
 22 ἀρετὴν : ... τὴν
 25 δάδεκα : ἑβ'
 126, 1 τῶν : ἐκτέλει
 5 δυνάμεναι (sic)
 εὐφραναι : εὐφράναι
 8 εὐκόπως : εὐκόλως
 17 in additione e codice quae
 in nota editionis Geb-
 hardtii et Harnackii fer-
 tur sequentes discrepan-
 tias codicis ab apographo
 Simonideo notavi; v. 1
 σὺ κ̄ : σὺ ἐχώρησας : ἐχώ-
 ρισας (e prima scriptura
 ἐχώρησας correctum) v.
 3 ἀστέρων : ἀστρον v. 4
 ἔκτισε : ἔκτισας
 19 ἄφρον (sic)
 δέψυχε (sic)



- 21 αὐτοῦ· αὐτῷ
 23 τὸν οὐρανὸν : τῶν οὐρανῶν
 δ : πάντων ὁ
 28 πεπωρωμένην : πεπυρωμένην
 29 δύσβατοι (sic)
 128, 4 δυσκόλοις (sic)
 5 ἀγρίαις (sic)
 ἀσελγείαις : καὶ ἀσελγέσι
 φοβήθητε : φοβηθῆτε
 182, 11 ἐκτιλάτω : ἐκτιλλάτω
 12 φερέτω (sic)
 13 ὡσαύτως : ὡς αὐται
 14 σταθῆναι : αι
 16 σιγῆς (sic)
 18 ἐπιδεδοκώτας (sic)
 πρώτων : α'
 25 ἴδια τάγματα (sic)
 184, 1 ὁλοτελεῖς (sic e prima, ut
 videtur, scriptura ὁλοτε-
 λῶς correctum)
 1—2 τινῶν δὲ : τῶν δὲ
 10 ῥάβδους : ῥάβδους αὐτῶν
 ἐλάχιστον : ἐλάχιστοι
 17 λίαν : λίαν μεγάλως
 21 ἔης φησί : εἰδῆς φησι
 23 διατί : οὗτοι
 186, 6 σφραγίδα : σφραγίδα
 7 ἐπιγινόντες (sic)
 8 ἐσπλαγχνίσθη (sic)
 10 σιγῆς (sic)
 15 ἐλάλησας (sic)
 16 ἀπέστη (sic)
 ἀσῆπτους (sic)
 188, 1 μετανενοηκώτας ἀφ' ἧς (sic)
 2 μετανοήσουσιν (sic)
 6 μετάνοια τῶν (sic)
 ἁμαρτωλῶν : ἁμαρτιῶν
 8 κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ : καθὰ τὸ αὐτὸ
 11 εἰσι (sic)
 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς : εἰς ἑαυτοὺς
 13 ἐν αὐτοῖς (sic)
 15 ἔχουσιν : ἔξουσιν
 22 ἐκαθάρισαν (sic)
 190, 3 ταπεινοφρονήσεως (sic)
 4 διχαστάταις (sic)
 6 ἑμπεφυρμένοι (sic)
 8 ὅσοι (sic)
 11 λοιπὸν deest
 17 ξηρὸν : χλωρὸν
 18 ἐξ αὐτῶν μετενόησαν : μετε-
 νόησαν ἐξ αὐτῶν
 19—21 καὶ ἐγένετο—τὴν ζωὴν
 αὐτῶν : καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸν
 πύργον κατοικεῖν· πολλοὶ
 δὲ ἀπέστησαν εἰς τέλος τοῦ
 θεοῦ· οὗτοι τὸ ζῆν εἰς τέλος
 ἀπώλεσαν
 26 πλουτήσαντες (sic)
 192, 2 μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν : κατὰ τὰ
 ἔθνη
 4 ἐνέμειναν (sic)
 7, 8 ἀπέστησαν—τοῖς ἔργοις :
 ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
 καὶ ἔπραξαν τὰς πράξεις
 13 ταχινὴ : ταχινὴ
 γένηται (sic)
 13—14 εἰς τὸν πύργον : ἐντὸς
 τοῦ πύργου
 16 τὰς ῥάβδους ἐπιδεδοκώτες : ἐπι-
 δεδωκώτες τὰς ῥάβδους
 18 ἐξήμαρτον (sic)
 26 ἐργαζόμενοι : ἐργασάμενοι
 194, 4 πασῶν· πάσας
 6 ἰσούνται (sic)
 σπλαγχνισθεῖς : σπλαγνισθεῖς
 21 σοι δεῖξω : ἐπιδείξω
 196, 3 ἦς : εἰς
 11 τὴν ἀρκადίαν (sic)
 198, 3 τὸ πρῶτον (sic)
 ἀσβολή : ἀσβολή

- 4 ἀκανθῶν : ἀκανθῶδες
 7 ἐπικεκαύκει (sic)
 ἐγίνοντο : ἐγίνοντο
 15 κτίσεως (sic)
 17—18 ὅλως οὐκ εἶχεν—θανατώ-
 θη : ὅλως ὕδωρ οὐκ εἶχε
 καὶ ὅλον ἐρημῶδες ἦν· εἶχε
 δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ θηρία καὶ ἐρ-
 πετὰ θανάσιμα
 18 διαφθείροντα—δέκατον ὅρος
 (sic, omisso τοὺς)
 200, 2 τῶν δένδρων : αὐτοῦ πολλὰ
 μαρυκώμενα : μηρυκώμενα
 3 σύνδενδρον : σύνδενδρον
 9 ἀναβεβηκυῖαν (sic)
 13 λαμπηδόνη (sic)
 14 (et 16 et 23) ἐστήκεισαν :
 εἰστήκεισαν
 16 τέσσαρα : δ'
 17 αὐτῶν : αὐτῆς
 δύο : β'
 21 αὐτῷ : ἐμαντῷ
 23 ταῖς παρθένους : τὰς παρθέ-
 νους
 22—23 ἀνδρείως (sic)
 25 οὐ δύνασθαι : οὐδὲ
 26 λαβὼν σύνεσιν νοῆς : λάβης
 σύνεσιν νοεῖν
 30 ἐάν : ἂν
 ἐμβλεπε (sic)
 202, 2 ἐκάλεσαν : ἐκέλευσαν
 7 αἱ ἐστήκεισαν : ἐστηκυῖαι
 10 βυθοῦ (sic)
 16 δέκα : ἰ'
 17 πρώτους : α'
 ἀλλήλαις : ἀλλήλοις
 23 ἔφερον : διέφερον
 27 θεμέλιον : θεμέλιος
 204, 3 πρότερον : πρότεροι
 15 ἡλλασσον (sic)
 16 ἀλλ' οἱ (sic)
 21 ἀπενεχθῆναι : ἀπαχθῆναι
 ἠνέχθησαν καὶ (sic)
 22 λέγουσι τοῖς (sic)
 παρεκφέρουσι : παρεμφέρουσι
 ὅλως (sic)
 23 ἐπιδίδωτε : ἐπιδίδωτε
 τίθετε (sic)
 25 φασίν : φασί
 27 κοπιᾶτε (sic)
 206, 10 πρὸς (sic)
 14 οὕτως (sic)
 15 ἰ' : δέκα
 κέ : κ
 λέ (sic)
 23 αὐθέντης (sic)
 24 οὐθαῖς (sic)
 26 παραγεγόναι : παρεγεγόναι
 208, 5 ἤρξαντο (sic)
 7 καθ' ἓνα : καθένα
 9 ἀσβόλη : ἀσβολή
 12 πολλοὺς (sic)
 15 ἐμβληθῆναι (sic)
 22 ἠνέχθησαν (sic)
 210, 2 ἐγένετο : ἐγίνοντο
 9 πάντας : τοὺτους
 10 ῥίψον : ῥίψον
 13 ἐστήκεισαν : εἰστήκεισαν
 25 προσοχθήσῃ : προσοχθήσῃ
 27 εἶναι (sic)
 τῷ δεσπότῃ (sic)
 ἤλθομεν (sic)
 212, 3 κατενοούμεν (sic)
 6 κατενόησε (sic)
 λαβὼν : λαθὼν
 9 μέσῃν : μέσους
 10 μελάνων : μελανῶν
 14 πληθεὺς : πάχος
 21 (et 32?) ἀσθενέστεροι : ἀσθε-
 νώτεροι

- 214, 4 τί (sic)
 8 αὐτοὺς θελήσω : θελήσω αὐ-
 τοὺς
 10 οὖν (sic)
 11 ἐκλέγη : ἐκλέγεις
 16 πάντως : πάντας
 19 εὐεϊδέσονται : εὐεϊδέσονται
 μέλανα : μελανὰ
 27 ἐκύκλωσα : ἐκύκλευον
 28 ἱλαρὸς : ἱλαρὸς
 29 οὕτως : οὕτως
 31 μὴ : καὶ
 216, 6 μοι, φησί : με, φησι
 6—7 καὶ ἐγγὺς—τελεσθήσεται :

 7 τῶν εἰς : εἰς
 9 σάρους : σάρων
 10 κόπρια : κόπρα
 ἔρραναι (sic)
 11 εὐπρεπέστατος (sic)
 12 κεκάθαρται : κεκαθάρισται
 13 ἡμῶν : ἡμῖν
 16 ἀκαιρεθῆναι : ἀναιρεθῆναι
 17 ἕως ἔρχομαι : ἐρχόμενον su-
 per extinctum ἕως ἔρχο-
 μαι scriptum
 τί : ἐγὼ τί
 24 ὁψέ, φασίν : ὅτε φησιν
 ἔλθῃ
 περίμεινον (sic)
 218, 1 μὴ (sic)
 μενέις (sic)
 5 μενῶ (sic)
 φασί : φησί e prima scrip-
 tura ; φασί, ut videtur,
 correctum
 9—10 καταφιλεῖν—καταφιλεῖν :
 καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιπ[ύσ-
 σε?]σθαι αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ὁρώ-
 σαι ἐκείνην περιπλεκομένην
 μοι καὶ αὐταὶ ἤρξαντό με
 καταφιλεῖν
 13 ἦδον : ἦδον
 14 ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης : γε-
 νόμενος
 16 καὶ ἔμεινα μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν
 νύκτα reitratum
 17 δὲ αἱ : γὰρ αἱ
 28 σε : σου
 βούλει (sic)
 220, 5 (et 6) κτίσεως (sic)
 ὥστε (sic)
 7 καινῇ (sic)
 ἐσχάτων : ἐσχάτου
 10 εἶδες, φησὶν : εἶδές φησι
 16 δυνήσῃ : δύνῃ
 17 διὰ τῆς πύλης desunt
 222, 1 γενέσθαι deest.
 2 δυνήσῃ : δύνῃ
 6 κύριος : κόσμος
 11 ἀποδοκιμάσαντα (sic)
 18 εἰσὶ : εἰσὶν αὐταὶ φησιν
 19 ἄλλως : ἄλλος
 ἀνθρώπος οὐ δύναται (sic)
 22 ὠφελήσῃ : ὠφελείς
 24 ἔσῃ : ἔσῃ
 26 ποῖος, φημί : ποῖός φημι
 ἱματισμός (sic)
 224, 2 ὀφείλει (sic)
 τὰ ὀνόματα φορεῖν : φορεῖν
 τὰ ὀνόματα
 3 φορεῖ (sic)
 8 ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι (sic)
 9 εἰς ἐν (sec.) : ἐν
 μία χροά : μιᾷ χροᾷ
 10 ἱματισμῶν : ἱματίων
 16 τοῦ υἱοῦ : υἱοῦ
 20 ἀνεπέσθησαν (sic)
 21 μέλανα : μελανὰ
 23 αὐτῶν : αὐτὰς

24 τοῦ οἴκου (sic)	14 ἔτι : ὅτι
226, 8 ἐσπλαγχνίσθη : ἐσπαγχνίσθη	15 διότι οὐδ' ἔλως : ὅτι οὐδόλως
9 τὸν ἀγγέλον : τοὺς ἀγγέλλους	19 τοῦ θεοῦ : θεοῦ
10 ἀνεκαίνισεν (sic)	22 θεμέλιον : θεμέλιος
11 ἀνένευσεν : ἀνένευσεν	

PROF. DR. SPYR. P. LAMBROS.

ATHENS,

15 September, 1887.

APPENDIX A.

ON THE FORGED GREEK ENDING OF THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

THE first point to be noticed about this extraordinary document is that it gives us far too much Greek. The portion which corresponds to it in the Old Latin Version occupies 136 lines in Dressel's edition. Now taking the 136 lines of Latin immediately preceding this portion, we find that they represent 154 lines of the Greek original as printed in Hilgenfeld's latest edition. We should accordingly expect that this new ending would also take up about 154 lines. Instead of this it occupies 210 lines: that is to say, it presents us with one-third more Greek than our knowledge of the preceding passage would have led us to anticipate.

This excess however is easily explained when we observe the method which Simonides adopts. His loose and pompous paraphrase of the Old Latin Version recalls the 'liberal translation' of the New Testament 'with freedom, spirit and elegance', published by Harwood in 1768, in which the Parable of the Prodigal Son is made to commence with the words: 'a gentleman of splendid family and opulent fortune had two sons'.

The passage which I have selected for investigation offers special advantages, because in dealing with it we have not only the testimony of the two Latin Versions and the Aethiopic Version to guide us, but also an unacknowledged quotation of it in Greek in the Homilies of Antiochus, a monk of the seventh century. This passage is Sim. ix. 31. 4—6; and the parallel passage in Antiochus is Hom. cxxii. (Migne, vol. 89, p. 1816 A).

1. Let us begin by setting the Versions side by side in the opening clause, that we may see what kind of Greek original is to be expected.

	[vulg. de vobis:]
Vet. Lat.	ut dominus pecorum gaudeat de his: gaudebit autem si omnia invenerit sana. [sin autem...
Pal.	ut si dominus pecorum venerit, gaudeat, si pecora sua integra invenerit. [si enim...
Aeth.	quando venerit dominus ovium, gaudebit de vobis et exsultabit, sed tantum si omnia sana invenerit, nec ullus e vobis interciderit. [vae vobis, pastores...

In comparing with this the Greek of Antiochus we must note that he has worked the quotation up to complete a sentence of his own, in which 'the shepherd' and 'the sheep' have been previously mentioned, though they have not been in the Hermas.

Antioch. ἵνα ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος τῶν προβάτων, χαρῇ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς προβάτοις εὐφρανθῇ· χαρήσεται δὲ ἐὰν πάντα ὑγίῃ εὐρεθῇ, καὶ μὴ διαπεπτωκότα τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν.

He continues thus: ἐὰν δὲ εὐρεθῇ τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν διαπεπτωκότα.

Here the similarity of the two clauses, one of which ends with διαπεπτωκότα τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν, and the other with τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν διαπεπτωκότα, caused the former to be omitted in the two Latin Versions, and the latter in the Aethiopic Version.

The probable reading of the original seems to be χαρῇ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, rather than ἐφ' ὑμῖν. The second person was not unlikely to be introduced, as in fact the Aethiopic has introduced it in 'vae vobis, pastores.'

It is now time to compare with all this the Greek text of Simonides:—

ἵνα καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν τούτων χαρίσῃται ὑμῖν, εἰ ὑγιά πάντα ταῦτα τὰ ἀπολωλότα δέξεται πρόβατα ἐν τῷ λιμῶνι τῆς ζωῆς νεμόμενα τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ζωῆς τῆς αἰωνίου.

Here χαρίσῃται ὑμῖν cannot be the equivalent of χαρῇ ἐφ' ὑμῖν: at least not in ancient Greek. 'The meadow of life' is a strange expression. ὑγιά and λιμὼν are wrong forms. And it is obvious that the sentence in this amplified form can never have been the original of the Versions which we have considered. We are thus led to expect that χαρίσῃται ὑμῖν is a mistranslation of the common reading of the Vet. Lat. 'gaudeat de vobis', and the rest of the sentence a loose paraphrase of this same Version.

2. Our suspicion will be confirmed by what follows :

- [vulg. pecus aliquod ex talibus invenerit dissipatum]
 Vet. Lat. sin autem aliqua ex his dissipata invenerit, vae erit
 pastoribus.
 Pal. si enim aut aliqua pecora a pastoribus dissipata, [aut
 ipsos pastores...
 Aeth. ...nec ullus e vobis interciderit.] vae vobis, pastores...

Both the Palatine Latin and the Aethiopic Versions are inaccurate here, and the Greek is no doubt preserved by Antiochus in close correspondence with the true reading of the Old Latin :

Antioch. εὖν δὲ εὐρεθῇ τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν διαπεπτωκότα, οὐαὶ τοῖς ποιμέσιν
 ἔσται.

Now hear Simonides :

καὶ γὰρ εἰ πρόβατόν τι ἐκ τῆς ὅλης ποίμνης ἀποπλανηθῇ, λύπη ἔσται
 τοῖς ποιμέσι μεγάλη.

The expression πρόβατόν τι ἐκ recalls the 'pecus aliquod ex talibus' of the common reading of the Old Latin. Elsewhere (Sim. vi. 1. 6) Hermas uses ποίμνιον, not ποίμνη. So too in the very next clause, if Antiochus quotes him correctly : though Antiochus himself uses ποίμνη a little below when his quotation is finished. But as both words are found in the New Testament, not much stress can be laid on this divergence. More striking is the use of λύπη μεγάλη for οὐαὶ, to which there is no parallel in the Shepherd. We may compare Rom. ix. 2, λύπη μοί ἐστιν μεγάλη. The form ἔσται is also to be noted. A modern Greek, who never uses the future forms in conversation, might be the more easily guilty of this mistake.

3. Still further evidence is forthcoming as we proceed :

- [vulg. om. reperti]
 Vet. Lat. quodsi ipsi pastores dissipati reperti fuerint, quid re-
 spondebunt ei pro pecoribus his? [vulg. om. his]
 Pal. aut ipsos pastores corruptos invenerit dominus, quid ei
 respondebitur?
 Aeth. si autem ipsi pastores dicunt possessori gregis [ab ovibus
 se prostratos...

There is a quotation, as it appears, of the Vet. Lat. of this clause in the work 'de aleatoribus' ascribed to Cyprian : but the text of it is uncertain and the variants throw no light on the matter in hand.

Antioch. εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ποιμένες εὐρεθῶσιν διαπεπρωκότες,
τί ἐροῦσιν τῷ δεσπότη τοῦ ποιμνίου;

He continues *ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων διέπεσαν*; which shews that the Aethiopic Translator must have read *εἰ ἐροῦσιν*, and then have considerably modified the former part of the sentence.

Simonides reads:

εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ ποιμένες αὐτοὶ διασπαρῶσι, τίνα λόγον δώσουσιν οὗτοι
τῷ κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων;

Now assuming for the moment that this is a translation from the Latin, we may note:

(1) that his representation of 'pro pecoribus', which has no support from the other Versions or Antiochus, points to the Vet. Lat. as the basis of his work.

(2) that he had not the full readings 'reperi' and 'his', the former of which is confirmed by Antiochus: and hence he must have used the *editio vulgata* of the Vet. Lat.

(3) that he had twice tried to translate 'dissipari', once by ἀποπλανᾶσθαι, and a second time by διασπαρῆναι; whereas Antiochus has διαπεσεῖν, a rare but good word, which no translator would have guessed at, and which seems not to be in use in Modern Greek.

4. The clause which follows will do nothing to disturb our supposition.

Vet. Lat. numquid dicent a pecore se vexatos? non credetur illis.

Pal. numquid pastores dicturi sunt a pecoribus se esse vexatos?
quod non creditur illis.

Aeth. si autem ipsi pastores dicent possessori gregis, ab ovibus
se prostratos esse, non creditur.

Antioch. ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων διέπεσαν; οὐ πιστευθήσονται.

The terseness of Antiochus commends itself as original: and his text alone could explain the misreading of the Aethiopic version. With it contrast the clumsy phrasing of Simonides:

ἐροῦσιν ἄρα ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν προβάτων ἀπεβλήθησαν; ἀλλ' οὐδέποτε πιστευθήσονται οὗτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

He has failed again to find διαπεσεῖν, and the phrase ὁ κύριος τῶν ἀνθρώπων is odd and incongruous.

5. The remainder of the passage which Antiochus embodies points entirely in the same direction as what has gone before.

Vet. Lat. *incredibilis enim res est, pastorem pati posse a pecore, et magis punietur propter mendacium suum.*

Pal. *quia incredibile est, pastorem aliquid pati posse a pecore; magis autem punietur propter mendacium.*

Aeth. *quia incredibile est, ovem interficere pastorem. si autem non, eos qui mentiti sunt punient.*

Antiochus gives what is unmistakeably the original, in close correspondence with the Vet. Lat.:

ἄπιστον γὰρ πρᾶγμα ἐστίν, ποιμένα ὑπὸ προβάτων παθεῖν τι· μᾶλλον δὲ κολασθήσονται διὰ τὸ ψεύδος αὐτῶν.

Side by side with this set the version of Simonides:

ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστιν ὅλους τοὺς ποιμένας ἐκβληθῆναι τῆς μάνδρας ὑπὸ τῶν προβάτων, ἢ τι ἕτερον κακὸν παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν· μᾶλλον δὲ ζημιωθήσονται οὗτοι διὰ τὸ ψεύδος αὐτῶν τοῦτο.

This last passage alone would betray the forger. Note the following points:

(1) *ἀδύνατον* as against *ἄπιστον πρᾶγμα*.

(2) *κακὸν τι παθεῖν* as against the simple *παθεῖν τι*.

(3) *ὅλους* instead of *πάντας*. Hilgenfeld emends and reads *ὅλως*. But it is the regular use in Modern Greek.

(4) *μάνδρα* is not found in the Shepherd. Yet Simonides has it again a few lines lower down. *μάνδρα* and *μανδρὶ* are in use in Modern Greek, and the ecclesiastical title *ἀρχιμανδρίτης* makes them familiar words in their metaphorical meaning.

(5) The pleonastic repetition of pronouns, observable indeed in the former clauses, is even obtrusive in this last sentence: *αὐτοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν*, and *οὗτοι...τοῦτο*. This is a characteristic feature of the modern language.

At this point Antiochus ceases to quote with exactness. The next sentence, which begins with the words 'et ego sum pastor', he modifies entirely, as it could not be fitted in with his argument. But he has given us enough to convince us that the Greek conclusion of the Shepherd of Hermas is missing still.

J. A. R.

APPENDIX B.

HERMAS IN ARCADIA.

IN a very ingenious paper published in a recent number of the American Journal of the Exegetical Society, Mr Rendel Harris has identified the scene of the vision described in the Ninth Similitude of the Shepherd with Orchomenus in Arcadia, a lofty natural fortress rising sheer out of a plain which is closed in by high mountains. The vision is introduced with the words: καὶ ἀπήγαγέ με εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, εἰς ὅρος τι μαστῶδες, καὶ ἐκάθισέ με ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους, καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι πεδῖον μέγα, κύκλω δὲ τοῦ πεδίου ὄρη δώδεκα, ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην ἰδέαν ἔχοντα τὰ ὄρη. To this corresponds exactly the position of the hill on which the ancient Orchomenus stood. It has an elevation of nearly 3000 feet, and it rises high and steep out of the plain. Pausanias writes: Ὀρχομενίους δὲ ἡ προτέρα πόλις ἐπὶ ὄρους ἦν ἄκρα τῇ κορυφῇ, καὶ ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ τειχῶν ἐρείπια λείπεται (viii. 13. 2). But beyond this general correspondence Mr Harris believes that he can identify three at least of the twelve mountains from the brief descriptions given of them.

(1) Hermas speaks of his fifth mountain as ἔχον βοτάνας χλωράς, καὶ τραχὺ ὄν (Sim. ix. 1. 7; cf. 22. 1, τοῦ ἔχοντος βοτάνας χλωράς καὶ τραχέος ὄντος).

Pausanias speaking of Orchomenus says: ἔστι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος Τραχύ. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ χαράδρας ῥέον κοίλῃς μεταξὺ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Τραχέος ὄρους κατείσιν ἐς ἄλλο Ὀρχομενίον πεδῖον. τὸ δὲ πεδῖον τοῦτο μεγέθει μὲν μέγα, τὰ πλείω δὲ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ λίμνη.....ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν ὁδῶν.....ὑπὸ τὸ Τραχύ ἐστιν ὄρος (viii.

13. 4). Thus the fifth mountain seems to be identical with Mt Trachy which rises to the east of the Orchomenian plain.

(2) The ninth mountain according to Hermas εἶχεν ἐν αὐτῷ θηρία καὶ ἔρπετὰ θανάσιμα, διαφθείροντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (Sim. ix. 1. 9, corrected text; cf. ix. 26. 1, 7 τὰ θηρία διαφθείρει τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἰῶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ ἀπολλύει).

Pausanias speaks of ἄλλο ὄρος Σηπία· καὶ Αἰπύτῃ τῷ Ἐλάτου λέγουσιν ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι τὴν τελευταίην ἐκ τοῦ ὄφews, καὶ οἱ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν αὐτόθι. τούτους οἱ Ἀρκάδες τοὺς ὄφεις γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει φασίν (viii. 16. 3). In an earlier passage he has given the story of his death, and he tells us that the venomous creature was called σήψ, and moved sideways like a crab (viii. 4. 7, σήψ δὲ οὐ προιδόμενον ἀποκτίννυσι, κ.τ.λ.).

(3) The tenth mountain is described as ὄλον κατάσκιον· καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην αὐτοῦ πολλὰ πρόβατα κατέκειντο (Sim. ix. 1. 9, corrected text; cf. 27. 1 δένδρα σκεπάζοντα πρόβατά τινα).

Pausanias (viii. 14. 1) tells us that five stadia from Karyae there is ἕτερον ὄρος Σκίαθις. Thus Mt Sepia and Mt Skiathis which lie to the north of Orchomenus, and close under Mt Cyllene, would be identified with the ninth and tenth mountains of the vision of Hermas.

Evidence of this kind is cumulative, and, if Mr Harris is right in believing that this is the district to which Hermas alludes, a careful study of its geographical features ought to enable us to carry the process of identification much further. I have observed at least four other mountains which certainly present most curious coincidences. To the west of Orchomenus, as if to balance Mt Trachy on the east, rises a mountain called Knakalus. Καφνάταις δὲ ἱερὰ θεῶν Ποσειδωνός ἐστι καὶ ἐπὶ κλησιν Κνακαλησίας Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐστι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὄρος Κνάκαλος, ἐνθα ἐπέτειον τελευτὴν ἄγουσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι (Paus. viii. 23. 3, 4). Now κνάκος is the Doric form of κνήκος, a kind of thistle, the juice of which was used to curdle milk. The Thistle-mountain then might well correspond to the third mountain of the vision, which is briefly described as ἀκανθῶδες καὶ τριβόλων πλήρες (Sim. ix. 1. 5, corrected text).

Again, the eighth mountain πηγῶν πλήρες ἦν, καὶ πᾶν γένος τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἐποτίζοντο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ ὄρους ἐκείνου. Pausanias tells us that close to Mt Sepia is a ridge called Τρίκρηνα. This no doubt was an abbreviation of Τρικάρηνα, 'the three-peaked ridge'; but its popular explanation is all that we have to do with,

and that is shewn by the legend that attached to it: ὄρη Φενεατῶν ἐστὶ Τρίκρηνα καλούμενα· καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτόθι κρῆναι τρεῖς. ἐν ταύταις λούσαι τεχθέντα Ἑρμῆν αἱ περὶ τὸ ὄρος λέγονται νύμφαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰς πηγὰς ἱερὰς Ἑρμοῦ νομίζουσιν (viii. 16. 1).

The second mountain is briefly described as ψιλόν, βοτάνας μὴ ἔχον. So common a feature we could hardly expect to connect with the name of any one mountain in particular. But it is remarkable that to the south-west of Orchomenus we read of a town and a mountain named Phalanthus (Paus. viii. 35. 9); and φάλανθος is synonymous with φαλακρὸς, which, like ψιλός, means 'bald'.

Mr Harris wonders that there should be no reference in the vision to Mt Cyllene, the most conspicuous feature in the landscape. Such an omission would be almost impossible for anyone who had ever been in Arcadia at all. He can only suggest as an explanation that Hermas must have got his information at second-hand either from Pausanias or from some guide-book from which both he and Pausanias borrowed. But must not Mt Cyllene be the twelfth and most beautiful mountain of all? The description of this last mountain is very striking: τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον ὄρος ὅλον ἦν λευκόν, καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτοῦ ἰλαρὰ ἦν· καὶ εὐπρεπέστατον ἦν ἐναντὶ τὸ ὄρος (Sim. ix. 1. 10). Cyllene towers high above all the surrounding hills. Its height is nearly 8000 feet, and it is covered with snow during a large part of the year. What mountain but a snow-mountain could be white enough to be a symbol of unstained innocence, such as is described in the wonderful interpretation of the vision? ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ δωδεκάτου τοῦ λευκοῦ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· ὡς νήπια βρέφη εἰσὶν, οἷς οὐδεμία κακία ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν καρδίαν, οὐδὲ ἔγνωσαν τί ἐστὶ πονηρία, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἐν νηπιότητι διέμειναν.....πάντα γὰρ τὰ βρέφη ἔνδοξά ἐστι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πρῶτα παρ' αὐτῷ (ix. 29. 1). It is true that Hermas regards the stones of the white mountain as themselves white, but that is part of the allegory. Quite in the same way he regards the stones of Mt Trachy as τραχεῖς (ix. 6. 4; 8. 6). When we remember the current belief that the peak of Mt Cyllene was unreachd by either cloud or wind, so that the very ashes on the altar of Hermes were found undisturbed whenever the worshippers returned for the annual sacrifice¹, how beautifully is the symbolism of its perpetual calm interpreted in words like these: οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν ἀδιστάκτως κατοικῆσουσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ πράγματι ἐμίαιαν τὰς

¹ Curtius, Peloponnesus, i. 215.

ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ νηπιότητος διέμειναν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φρονήσει. ὅσοι οὖν διαμενεῖτε, καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς τὰ βρέφη, κακίαν μὴ ἔχοντες, πάντων τῶν προαιρεμένων ἐνδοξότεροι ἔσεσθε.

These identifications of Knakalus, Trikrena, Phalanthus and Cyllene may well be set side by side with those of Trachy, Sepia and Skiathis. Of the remaining five mountains of the vision perhaps we may hazard a guess at two. The sixth mountain is 'full of fissures' (Sim. ix. 1. 7, σχισμῶν ὅλον ἔγεμεν, ὧν μὲν μικρῶν, ὧν δὲ μεγάλων). We need not be afraid to see here traces of natural scenery peculiarly characteristic of Arcadia: nor does the subsequent mention of the stones themselves as σχισμὰς ἔχοντες (ix. 6. 4) prevent us from regarding the feature as primarily belonging to the mountain itself. Pausanias says that close to Mt Skiathis was another mountain called Ὀρυξίς (viii. 14. 1) and he goes on to speak of an ὄρυγμα, dug by Hercules to drain the neighbouring plain. But not much stress can be laid on this.

The first mountain is described in three words: μέλαν ὡς ἀσβόλη (Sim. ix. 1. 5). Possibly an examination of the district would elucidate this. Ἀσβόλη is a later form of ἄσβολος, 'soot'. Certain stones are afterwards spoken of as μέλανεσσι ὡσεὶ ἀσβόλη: but there is nothing to throw further light on the description.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (iii. 218) one of Actaeon's hounds is called Asbolus:

'Et niveis Leucon, et villis Asbolus atris'.

It is a curious coincidence that Arcadian dogs have been mentioned a few lines above:

'Pamphagus et Dorceus et Oribasus, Arcades omnes'.

The only local name that seems to offer any correspondence to this black mountain is that of a small town called Μελαγγεῖα on the side of the mountain as you descend the Climax, the pass with rock-hewn steps, between Argolis and Mantinea. Here there was a worship of Ἀφροδίτῃ Μελαίνῃ, of whose title a quite impossible account is given by Pausanias (viii. 6. 5). Part of the plain between Artemisia and Mantinea was called Ἀργὸν πεδῖον, as he distinctly tells us, from its whiteness, and there must be some physical explanation of the contrasted title of the town Μελαγγεῖα, or Blackland.

Three mountains still remain out of the twelve: possibly they also may yet find a local explanation. At any rate enough has been said to give great plausibility to the general theory of identification.

Mr Harris has suggested that in the details of the building of the Tower some reference may be implied to the early Cyclopean buildings of which there are so many remains in the Peloponnesus. I have noted the following passage in Dodwell's *Tour in Greece* (vol. ii. p. 426), which shews that there were such ruins on the very spot on which Hermas is supposed to stand. It is also interesting as confirming our idea of the general features of the scene.

"The acropolis on which the original town was situated is steep on all sides, and flat at the summit, resembling Mount Ithome in form, but far inferior in height. The walls were fortified with square towers, and may be traced nearly round the whole of the extreme edge: in some places they are well preserved, and the most ancient parts are in the rough Tirynthian style. I made a panoramic view from the acropolis, which gives a comprehensive idea of the Orchomenian plain, with its lake, and its grand encircling rampart of mountains. These are of a bold and towering character, and are seen receding beyond each other to the extremity of the horizon".

One or two details may be added, which present us with coincidences equally curious. Thus the *βυθός* from which the stones are commanded to rise for the building of the Tower has its counterpart in the lake which Pausanias tells us covered the greater part of the plain (viii. 13. 4, quoted above). This is confirmed by the account in Vis. iii. 2. 4—9, where a tower is built *ἐπὶ ὑδάτων*, and the stones are brought partly *ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ* and partly *ἐκ τῆς γῆς*; and certain rejected stones desire in vain to roll into the water. So in the present Vision the stones which come out of the *βυθός* are said *δὲ ὑδατος ἀναβῆναι* (Sim. ix. 16. 2).

Again, when the Shepherd desires to smoothe the ground after the Tower is completed, he gives the strange command (Sim. ix. 10. 1): *ὑπαγε καὶ φέρε ἄσβεστον καὶ ὄστρακον λεπτόν*. Now Mr Harris has noted that Pausanias speaks of a Mount Ostrakina on the south of the very plain in question. This exact geographical knowledge we may further illustrate by the following reference in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 54): 'asbestos in Arcadiae montibus nascitur, coloris ferrei'. This is especially interesting because Pau-

sanias does not mention ἄσβεστος. The Latin Versions of the Shepherd explain the word as 'calx', and the Aethiopic as 'gypsum'; and it is generally supposed that in Pliny too the ordinary ἄσβεστος is not meant, but some sort of grey limestone. But this only makes the coincidence the more remarkable.

The coincidences above noted, though in themselves necessarily slight, seem when taken together sufficient to establish two points: first that the plain of Orchomenus in Arcadia is the scene of the Vision; and, secondly, that the writer shews an intimate knowledge of the local peculiarities of the district. Mr Harris asks, 'How did the Roman Hermas find his way into the most inaccessible part of Greece?' The solution he suggests is that he may have got his information from literary sources, without ever having visited the neighbourhood in question. The date of the Arcadia of Pausanias, about 167 A.D., is too late to allow us to suppose that Hermas used that work: but Mr Harris thinks it possible that both he and Pausanias may have been indebted to an earlier writer on the subject.

This is an improbable hypothesis. The correspondence with Pausanias is a correspondence of facts, not of diction: and in one instance at any rate we have seen that the range of facts extends beyond the notices in Pausanias. This familiar acquaintance with little details cannot reasonably be explained as the result of the study of guide-books or itineraries; nor indeed could it have been gained by a single visit. I would suggest as a more satisfactory solution that Hermas may have been a native of the region with which he is so familiar. This would harmonize quite well with the one short sentence which contains all we know of his early history: ὁ θρέψας με πέπρακέν με Ῥόδη τινὶ εἰς Ῥώμην (Vis. i. 1. 1). May he not have been a Greek slave of Arcadian origin? In this case his name, a common one for Greek slaves¹, would seem specially fitting for a native of this particular district, when we remember what Pausanias² tells us of the worship of Hermes at Pheneos, twelve miles distant from Orchomenus: θεῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἑρμῆν Φειεᾶται μάλιστα, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσιν Ἑρμαῖα, κ.τ.λ. (viii. 14. 10); when we

¹ See Lightfoot, 'Philippians', p. 176. Ἑρμᾶς is of course the form of Ἑρμῆς which was current in Arcadia: but Dr Lightfoot regards the name as an abbreviation of some longer form such as Hermogenes.

² For other references to Hermes in Arcadia see Pausanias viii. 3. 2; 4. 6 16. 1; 17. 1. 5; 31. 9; 32. 1—4; 34. 6; 35. 2, 3; 36. 10; 39. 6; 43. 2; 47. 4.

remember also the story of the Nymphs who bathed him at his birth in the sacred fountains of Trikrena, one of the spurs of Mount Cyllene; and above all when we recall the epithet 'Cyllenius', derived from the worship of Hermes on the windless summit of the great mountain-king of Arcadia, who reared his head, as it was firmly believed, right up into the eternal calm above the clouds and above the storms which darkened and distressed the world at his feet.

J. A. R.

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